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The Quarterly Review of Public Relations

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

HOWARD PENN HUDSON

EXECUTIVE EDITOR

EDWIN C. KEPLER

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

CHARLES D. BROWN
DONALD W. KRIMEL

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

J. CARROLL BATEMAN
CHESTER BURGER
JOHN H. SMITH, JR.
HAL D. STEWARD

BOOKS

DON COLEN

ADVERTISING MANAGER

ADELE S. GREENE

BUSINESS MANAGER

ALPHONS J. HACKL

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

MARY E. HUDSON

Address all correspondence to:
THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC RELATION
P.O. BOX 114
SPRINGFIELD, VIRGINIA

(Manuscripts returned only if stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided.)

SPRING 1960

IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE

We've all said it at some time or other: what public relations needs is a public relations program. Many of us, too, have been concerned as to whether we are a profession, should be a profession, or will never be a profession. To our mind **Richard A. Stimson** has done a remarkable job in bringing together in one short article the main points about the public relations of public relations and has clarified many current semantic confusions about professions and professionalism. The author of "We, Too, Need a Public Relations Program" (page 2) heads his own firm of Stimson Associates in New York City, which he established in 1959. Prior to becoming an independent counselor, he was assistant director of public relations for the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, and assistant executive secretary of the American Textbook Publishers Institute. He has had a variety of public relations assignments in the past fourteen years and is a graduate of Yale.

* * *

The first periodical to serve the public relations field is Public Relations News, a weekly founded in 1944. Nineteen fifty-nine marked the fifteenth year in which **Denny Griswold** has been editing the News. This period has marked the greatest growth of the public relations field. As editor of the Public Relations News, as co-author of an early text, "Your Public Relations," as a participant in most of the developments of the field, Denny Griswold is in a unique situation to review how far we have come and to predict something of our future. To that end editors **Edwin C. Kepler** and **John H. Smith, Jr.** were privileged to conduct an exclusive interview which we present in this issue as "Impressions At Fifteen" (page 9).

* * *

That there are areas of real public relations concern in the current racial situation in this country is obvious to all who have been following the events of the past few months. In "Race Relations and Public Relations" (page 18) we offer a factual, low key summary of the racial situation as seen from the viewpoint of the Negro. We believe this article gives excellent background material to anyone dealing with these problems. The author, **Jerome L. Wilson,** is assistant director of public relations of the National Urban League, in New York. He has served as senior staff writer in the public relations department of the Creole Petroleum Corporation, and was a public relations officer with the U.S. Air Force in Germany. He is a graduate of Colgate University.

* * *

It's one thing to advocate better public relations for the field of public relations. It's another thing to plunge in and do something about it. "A Community Relations Program for Public Relations" by **Lester H. Ahlswede** (page 28) describes an activity of the Washington Chapter of APRA which well might be emulated by public relations groups throughout the country. Mr. Ahlswede is public relations director of the Goodwill Industries of America, Inc., where he has been since 1954. Previous public relations assignments include the Continental Can Company, Tamblyn and Brown, and Carl Byoir Associates. He is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism.

* * *

How much we should extend decision making to members of an organization is discussed in our regular feature, Scanning the Professional Journals, (page 26) by **Dr. Donald W. Krimel.** In the Book Reviews (page 30) **Don Colen** examines the political complexion of the Sixties.

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A special four page section on the 1959 APRA Silver Anvil Awards, including a list of the winners, begins on page 35.

IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE * IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE * IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE * IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE

WE, TOO, *Need a Public Relations Program*

by RICHARD A. STIMSON

WE WHO make our livelihood from public relations are somewhat like the proverbial shoemaker's children running barefoot through the town. Individually, we are often too busy communicating for our clients to do an effective job of telling our own story. As a group, we've scarcely begun to use the power of public relations for our own benefit.

If any of us were called upon to counsel some other occupational group and found it in the same predicament, we would view the situation with serious concern and advise strenuous corrective action.

Up to this point, I have avoided referring to public relations as a profession because of our doubtful status, which is one of our most serious problems.

In such matters, dictionary definitions are seldom very helpful. Reflecting the various ways the word "profession" is commonly used, an unabridged dictionary offers an assortment of definitions broad enough to include almost any kind of human activity.

There are professional tuba players, professional outfielders, professional television repairmen, professional wrestlers, professional gamblers, professional tea-tasters, and professional exterminators as well as members of the educational, architectural, legal, engineering, religious, nursing, accounting, military, medical, journalistic, and dental professions. This is only part of a very long list.

What does this all mean? Is "profession" too muddy a concept to be of any use? When the word is applied to some occupations, there are overtones of humor, but in the case of others the overtones are of respect

and sometimes reverence. This is often related to the historical age of the claim to professional status.

Older Professions Are Respected

In earlier days, of course, there were fewer professions claiming to be recognized and therefore less confusion. There is a classic story about three men arguing over which profession was the oldest. The surgeon based his claim on the removal of Adam's rib, and the architect referred to the making of Heaven and Earth, but the lawyer based his claim on the pre-existing chaos and confusion.

This question has often been discussed seriously and, although most occupations have ancient roots, among the first to be generally recognized as professions were the clergy, the warriors, teachers, physicians and lawyers.

Some of the other attributes which are often used in defining a profession are *educational standards, licensing* and *public service.*

Educational standards are based on the existence of an organized body of knowledge which individuals are required to master before entering the profession. The amount of education required varies tremendously even within such an ancient profession as the clergy, but the public tends to reserve its respect for members of professions who have acquired at least one college degree. This is evident in the phrase "learned profession."

Government *licensing,* although common to many professions, is not a requirement for clergymen, university professors nor experts in most branches of science. On the other hand, licenses are required for barbers, plumbers and cab drivers. The purpose of licensing has generally been to protect the public from harm at the hands of incompetent or unethical practitioners in occupations affecting public health, safety or welfare.

In those cases where the members of a profession are not identified by the possession of a government license, some other means of identification is required, usually a degree from an accredited educational institution or recognition by the appropriate professional society. The latter method is used more in Great Britain than in the United States.

The attribute of *public service* shows clearly in the case of a missionary, an underpaid teacher or a country doctor who is on call 24 hours a day. The element of sacrifice for the public welfare is much less apparent in the case of most professional men. If the members of the legal and medical professions, for example, are more prosperous than the average person, this is not considered to disqualify them from their professions. Most occupations, in fact, involve some admixture of the motives of pub-

lic service and private profit.

To sum it up, public usage associates "professions" with certain characteristics, such as educational standards, licensing and public service, none of which is an absolute, sharply-defined requirement.

Do We Measure Up?

Where does this leave us in public relations? Generally we can qualify rather well as individuals. Most of us have the benefit of higher education, and some others who have achieved the equivalent through informal study deserve to be regarded in the same class.

Our occupation is not licensed, nor is there yet any academic degree which is generally recognized as a requirement for competence in public relations. Membership in our various societies and associations has not become widely accepted as a satisfactory means of separating the genuine practitioner from the pretender.

As for public service, it would appear that presenting a client's case before the court of public opinion meets a public need just as much as similar representation in a court of law. My impression is that people in public relations usually have a devotion to their work far beyond any payment they receive for their services. The ethical codes of the organizations to which we belong aim very high and the daily practice of genuine public relations people is generally quite ethical.

Should we then refer to ourselves as members of the public relations *profession?* A little over a year ago, Earl Newsom, in a talk before the New York Chapter of PRSA, denied any claim of professional status but pledged himself and his associates to act like members of a profession. Last December, in a television discussion conducted by David Susskind, Edward L. Bernays asserted professional status by virtually equating public relations with public welfare. On the same program, William Ruder declined to claim membership in a profession, but described great satisfaction in rendering service.

Such contradictory statements are made day after day and leave the public even more confused than the practitioners. Well, what should we do about it? Since the word "profession" has such an elastic definition, it may not seem worthwhile to claim it. Indeed, there have been many fruitless arguments on this subject in which the word was never defined by either party.

My own inclination is to refer to public relations as a profession, following the example of many eminent colleagues, and, whenever chal-

lenged, to say something like this:

"My work cannot be done satisfactorily without a broad educational background, considerable knowledge of human behavior, skill in communcation, high ethical standards and a sincere desire to render useful service. This is what some people consider a profession. If you don't think so, I won't argue with you, because it depends on what the word means to you."

The chief weakness in this answer is that many persons lacking these characteristics describe their activities as public relations and the general public has no clear means of distinguishing between true and false claims.

How Is the PR of PR?

We should view the confusion over professional status as part of the total picture of our profession's public relations. Why don't we take our own medicine and approach this problem as we would advise our clients to do?

Although we could supposedly advise ourselves, the practical situation is that none of us can afford the time voluntarily to make a thorough study and develop a suitable program for the profession. Our committees suffer from the limitations that are common to all committees, and what is everybody's job becomes nobody's job. Does it make any sense for a national association to have neither a public relations director nor public relations counsel? It doesn't seem adequate to assume that this function will be handled by the executive director along with all his other responsibilities.

If the public relations profession had public relations counsel, what sort of recommendations might be expected? Probably most practitioners would urge that we start with a survey of the attitudes towards public relations of important segments of the public. Subsequent action would depend on the results of the survey.

I suspect that such a survey would show that public relations is favorably regarded and reasonably well understood by only a rather select group of executives who have had first-hand experience with able members of our profession. Even among this group there would be some unfortunate misunderstandings. Mixed attitudes would be revealed among editors, program directors and others in the communications media. I think we would be appalled at the picture of public relations which prevails among opinion leaders and other elements of the population.

Of course, the only way we can know the results of a survey is to conduct one. The specific findings should be extremely valuable in planning a program for the future. However, I think we can foresee the general outline of the findings on the basis of our reading and personal experiences. We constantly see and hear public relations blamed for various real or imaginary sins of politics, advertising, fund raising, lobbying, salesmanship, and executive policy.

Public statements make us wince almost daily. Harry Truman has said that a public relations man is the same thing as a politician; Robert Hutchins declared in a speech that college presidents must choose between public relations and adhering to their principles; and public relations has become almost a standard epithet for a candidate to use against his opponent.

We would probably learn from an opinion survey that many businesses and organizations which are aware of public relations needs actually fear to retain professional counsel. If so, we have a mammoth public relations job of our own that we should tackle immediately for the benefit of our individual careers in our chosen field.

The program needs careful planning. It obviously must involve the twin areas of action and communication. Many of us are impatient with our progress in both areas.

Constructive Action

It is only fair to acknowledge that worthwhile efforts have been made for self-improvement through the educational activities, awards and publications of the American Public Relations Association, the Public Relations Society of America and the specialized organizations in financial, government, school and college public relations. These activities must be continued and expanded.

The vital step, however, is to establish a register of competent and ethical practitioners who can clearly be distinguished from mere pretenders. Whether licensed by the government or certified by a board voluntarily established by the profession, individuals should be admitted only after passing a professional examination comparable to that required for the practice of law, medicine and other recognized professions.

An article by Paul Cain in the July, 1959, issue of THE QUARTERLY REVIEW advocated such an examination, suggesting that the following topics be included:

1. Principles and understanding of public relations.

2. Comprehension of responsibilities and obligations of a PR practitioner.
3. Competence with media.
4. Use of advertising as a PR tool.
5. Understanding of application and procedures in research.
6. Business procedures.
7. Economics.
8. Government.
9. Association and group action.

To these I would add more specific coverage of the psychological and sociological principles underlying public opinion. In the future, specific academic requirements, including a bachelor's degree with appropriate course content, should be made a prerequisite.

Policing Our Professional Ethics

Other professions have been advised by their public relations counselors that nothing sustains public faith in ethical standards like the occasional announcement of disciplinary action against a violator. This also would be good advice for us.

Two instances come to mind of well-known public relations firms, both represented in the membership of PRSA and one also in APRA, whose actions have been widely criticized. One was convicted of an antitrust violation in connection with a campaign it conducted for a client and the other has been accused of conducting political campaigns with even less regard for truth and fairness than is usual in politics.

Regardless of whether a fair hearing would show the practices of these firms to be in violation of professional ethics, the fact that the public relations profession has not taken any official notice of these cases has left the impression that public relations has no meaningful code of ethics.

The recent adoption by PRSA of a new and stricter code, together with new procedures for enforcing it, is an important step in the right direction. I wish it had been exposed in draft form to the entire membership for comment and discussion before adoption. Such a step, which is customary in other professional groups, might very likely have improved the document and increased its effectiveness.

The new code has the virtue of being much more specific about many matters than the old code. It will really begin to have significance,

however, when the public sees it enforced.

Using Our Communications Skills

In the area of communication, much also needs to be done. Even without a survey we know that ignorance about public relations is widespread. For a group as articulate as we are in many ways, we have made amazingly little use of our own communications skills to give the public a true picture of our work.

I do not intend to set down a list of all the media we should use and how we should get our story across. The point is that such a list should be prepared by people with the competence and the authority to create and implement such a plan. It should have the enthusiastic backing of a united profession.

We have seen other groups neglect their public relations needs and pay dearly for it. We should know better than to let it happen to us. ●

* * *

Villain in the Piece

"The minister condemned the eagerness of Americans to be fooled. 'We live in the Public Relations Age,' he said, 'when people tend to be more concerned about how things are presented than with what they are. Madison Avenue reigns, the man-in-the-gray-flannel-suit rides high, and the package is more important than the contents. It sounds ridiculous, or does it?"

—News item, *The Washington Post*

Advice to a Young Executive Who Is Trying to Get Ahead—Upon Being Asked to Review Something Someone Else Has Written . . .

You must *never* approve it—
You must always change it;
And if you cannot improve it—
At least you re-arrange it.

—N.L.

Universal PR Solution

Whatever the cause of your problems—
Be it money or be it glands—
Fret not: All problems dissolve
When the PUBLIC UNDERSTANDS.

—N.L.

An Interview with Denny Griswold:

IMPRESSIONS AT FIFTEEN

To obtain an overview of public relations growth and outlook as seen by Denny Griswold in her 15 years of editing the weekly Public Relations News, THE QUARTERLY REVIEW *obtained this exclusive interview. It was conducted by editors Edwin C. Kepler and John H. Smith, Jr.*

Q. Denny, as co-founder and editor of *Public Relations News*, you are the most noted observer of the public relations scene. And, you have been at the ring-side for 15 vital years. I judge you believe that public relations has made a real contribution to society and that it is going places in the future.

A. There isn't any question about it. Public relations has had enormous impact on every facet of life, not only in America but throughout the world—economically, militarily, spiritually, morally, any way one can possibly mention.

Q. And yet there are some who look at the same develpments and say that not much progress has been made.

A. Oh, there may be a debate as to *how* public relations has affected things in various areas. But, as to *whether,* that is ipso facto, as I see it.

Q. Well, what would you label as the most significant symbol of progress in the field?

A. The most significant of all? Let's use *Public Relations News* as the measuring stick. If you go back to when we started, you will say today that we couldn't have been more myopic. There really wasn't any field 15 years ago—perhaps a total of 100 public relations counselors, (and most of these were publicists and press agents) and just a handful of corporate public relations executives. This is the "vast audience" we dared to launch a publication for. A couple of years later, we analyzed our subscription list and we discovered two very interesting things. First, we had subscribers in almost every field of human endeavor—not only industry and commerce, but also religion, education, hospitals, social and civic organizations, government on local, national and international levels. Then, too,

we found that our list represented a good cross-section of executives from the top to the bottom of the organization chart—chairmen of the board, presidents, vice presidents, advertising directors, and of course PR directors. And, it has continued that way. Our current subscription list is 69.9 percent top management. So, if you ask me what is the most significant evidence of progress in the public relations business, I say it is the rapid way it has established itself as a "must" consideration—and a continuing one—with virtually every type of executive in every kind of organization.

Interest in Public Relations Abroad

Q. You mentioned the international area. Do you really think there is much interest in and understanding of American public relations practice overseas?

A. I know there is deep interest. I went around the world, you know, in 1956. And, everywhere I went, the eagerness and enthusiasm to learn about American public relations was enormous. For example, I was travelling incognito as Mrs. Sullivan (my married name), but I had written ahead to one of my subscribers in Manila to have him make arrangements for a nice quiet hotel room. On his own, he released a little stick about the pending arrival of "the first lady of public relations" and, when I came to Manila, I was met by a battery of reporters and government representatives.

They whisked me away to a formal reception and dinner. I was to be there only 72 hours, but before I left, I had been asked to make 27 paid appearances including all the local media people. And this sort of thing happened everywhere I went—Hong Kong, Thailand, and in even the most recondite parts of the world where you wouldn't think they'd even heard the words "public relations."

Q. How do you account for this? Has our American public relations really been all that good?

A. It is firmly established that America has leadership in public relations. Our leadership may be questioned in other areas, but not in PR. As I have so often said and written, this is a ball we ought to pick up and run with.

Q. In a propaganda way?

A. No, in a philosophic way. Remember that world-wide awareness that PR in the U.S.A. is more highly developed than anywhere else is indisputably recognized; we don't have to promote it. The exciting point is this. We are not imposing our public relations techniques and theories on other countries; they are voluntarily asking for them. And, the reason we have this advantage in our public relations is that we have the neces-

sary freedoms. Freedom of the press and freedom of expression are essential to public relations as we know it in America.

Q. Isn't it possible that, in some other countries, the interest is in our techniques of publicity for any kind of a purpose rather than in a true public relations purpose?

A. In some cases, surely if you're thinking of propaganda. Public relations can be misused and abused anywhere. But the point is this. I think we can claim that we were the first to develop public relations on the ethical plane and to the degree of scientific skill it has attained. And, it is logical that we were because public relations is a natural outgrowth of the social, economic, and industrial patterns which have marked American progress.

Contributions of PR to Society

Q. All right, let's get back home for a moment. What do you regard as the principal contribution of public relations to our own business and social structure in the past 15 years?

A. I don't know that I can pin-point one factor. But, certainly, one of the greatest contributions has been that of impressing on management that the community has a real interest and stake in business. There has been a managerial "revolution" in this country. Most businessmen now recognize that the public wants to and has a "right to know." And, that could not have happened without the prodding of public relations which teaches those very precepts.

Q. In what ways do you feel public relations has failed?

A. We have failed and probably will continue to fail wherever our field attracts misfits—people who are not equipped through personality, talent, skill, training, experience, and integrity. But, this is true of every profession. Let us never forget that the legal profession still has shysters and the medical profession, quacks.

Q. So you are not alarmed by the misfits and the unfortunate publicity they sometimes generate?

A. I don't like the publicity, of course. But, the reassuring thing to me is that the people who hire or retain public relations people have developed keen judgment. A man was in here just ten minutes ago looking for a public relations counsel in the midwest and he said: "I know the woods are full of so-called PR people, but I want the name of a good one." Then, too, I am very pleased with the character of public relations men and women, on the whole. I think our profession has attracted individuals who

are keener, more imaginative, and more socially responsible than the average.

Views on Field of Public Affairs

Q. What do you think of public relations vis-a-vis this function that is now coming up with the title of "public affairs?"

A. I think this rash of appointing directors of public affairs is primarily to handle the question of business-in-politics. This hardly describes the varied and full responsibilities of the public relations director.

Q. When you get into the business-in-politics movement, then, aren't you into public issues? And, as some would have it, doesn't this leave the public relations director working with proscribed publics while the highest level public relations function of counseling on company position with respect to public issues—and of setting the organization's major communications themes—is left with the director of public affairs?

A. As you probably know from reading *Public Relations News,* it is our position that the viewpoint of many businessmen toward the business-in-politics movement is rather naive. I have been at meetings where management people say: "We've got to get our boys in government." That is rather silly because we have all known men who become bureaucrats overnight when they've changed from a business to a government job.

Q. Then business should stay out of politics anyway?

A. In the sense I have mentioned, yes. But, don't misunderstand me. It isn't as a member of XYZ Corporation that one should be active in government affairs, but as a citizen. Here business does have a definite responsibility. I think modern business takes over where the school leaves off. This is where we continue our education. This is where we learn new things from job exposure and job training, from meeting and working with all kinds of individuals. To me, the proper definition for "business in politics" is "economic education" and many companies have been providing that for years. I think it is the duty of a business to teach employees how the system operates under which we live.

Q. And this "economic education" the skilled public relations director can plan and handle just as well as any man appointed for public affairs?

A. Can, does and should!

Q. But, as far as partisan political activity goes, the public relations department should stay out?

A. I don't think it is politic, if I may use the word, for business to get behind the actual sponsorship of specific candidates. I think that, in

doing so, business becomes subject to accusations which can hurt, valid or invalid.

Improvement in Public Relations Techniques

Q. A while back, you indicated that public relations proficiency has increased a great deal in the past 15 years. How and why? Have we better tools to work with? Have we perfected our techniques?

A. Pardon the plug, but if we don't have good tools, I have been wasting 15 years of my life. But, seriously—the major development in tools has been that of building a pool of knowledge and experience on such subjects as the annual report, special events, open houses, etc.—along with the willingness to share this knowledge and experience. Public relations ideas and techniques have been refined and sharpened, surely, but mostly because of easy access to this ever-growing fund of practical guidance and background.

Q. Could you specify some techniques that have been refined and sharpened?

A. For example, the application of public relations at the "grass roots," community level. This is relatively new. It was only 11 years ago or so that the image of a public relations man was that of a fellow with a turban, seated cross-legged on a desk, looking into a crystal ball, and saying to management: "I am touched with divinity because I know public relations and you don't and you can't practice it as I can."

Q. And now, instead of sitting on their desks, they sit in front of television cameras?

A. Now the whole image is different. We used to hear of "manipulating mass opinion," remember? Now we start at the community level and then fan out to get a message across. This is a healthier trend. It uses a basic public relations precept—to start from the point of public interest, a focal point, and so on from there to wider audiences.

The State of Public Relations Education

Q. What do you think of the progress of education in public relations?

A. That has not developed as fast nor as intensively as I would like. I don't think there has been the penetration of study we ought to have. However, there is much that is encouraging in education. I remember making an address at the opening of the Boston University School of Public Relations and Communications before 50 students and today, if they don't have 750 to 800 enrollees, they are disappointed. I also remember the time when you could count the colleges with courses in public relations on one

hand. Today there are well over 250 such courses being given. Fifteen schools in the U.S. have public relations majors and three are offering masters degrees.

Q. Do you think that public relations can be taught in school?

A. I certainly do. They once said you couldn't teach journalism, you will recall. The other day, I was visiting with the publisher of a metropolitan daily and he told me: "I never thought I would live to see the day when we would be hiring journalism graduates, but today nine-tenths of our staff have been trained in a journalism school."

Q. Do you feel that a school of journalism can do a complete job of teaching public relations?

A. No, and I might tell you that I have practically gotten into fist fights about this subject. Neither do I think you have to be a journalist to become an accomplished public relations man. I think it helps. But, the main thing is to be articulate in the written and spoken word as well as adept in interpreting people's activities, their thinking, and their hopes and aspirations. You can get that experience on a house organ, a radio station, or on the Chautauqua Circuit. You don't necessarily have to be on a newspaper.

Q. What about the quality of teaching in public relations schools? What do you think of that?

A. Public relations schools are handicapped as all schools are. We are not able to get enough teachers who have had practical experience. You're too busy and I'm too busy—that sort of thing. But, this will clear up. For example, I have talked to a number of men who are getting ready to retire who are looking upon teaching as an outlet for their energies after leaving the business world.

Q. It has been said that an education for public relations should embrace psychology, all the social sciences, and all humanistic disciplines. When you say "public relations can be taught" are you thinking of a specific body of knowledge that just has to do with practice?

A. No. I think there is no kind of knowledge that is not grist for the public relations mill. I think of a broad liberal arts background, with intensification of some helpful subject, plus the actual training in the skills and techniques of public relations.

Q. Some personnel men say that graduates of public relations schools have so little training in practical public relations that they are hard to place. What is your comment on that?

A. Very few personnel men yet know what to look for when they are placing public relations people. This is probably the fault of the PR profession; they should help educate personnel executives. They should be taught, for example, that there are levels in public relations. Not everybody can reach the top of the ladder. Some personnel men claim that you can't teach public relations because its principal requisite is good judgment. But, judgment is an indigenous quality. A doctor needs good judgment, a nurse needs good judgment, a secretary needs good judgment.

Q. So, on the whole, are you well satisfied with the way public relations education is going?

A. I didn't say that. I think there is a great deal of room for closer coordination between the practical world and the academic world. The academicians will verify that, I believe.

The Public Relations Agency Business

Q. All right, let's move on to some other facets of public relations. What about counseling? What do you see as trends in this field?

A. Some of our distinguished practitioners have said that opportunities for public relations counseling are dwindling. I call that debatable. True, I think the counsel's qualifications for his job will require a tremendous amount of upgrading. I think the counsel will be called upon more frequently for advice in the upper levels of managerial action. I think he will be called upon less frequently for the daily routine of jobs. He will be asked for solutions to specific, large problems. He will be the top echelon for public relations expertism.

Q. Now, what about the public relations affiliates of advertising agencies?

A. This seems to me to be a moribund trend. A great many advertising agencies are learning that is is not advantageous to have PR departments offer service independently from advertising service. Many of them were forced into this because clients became aware of public relations and asked for it. But, few are making money at it, though they may not openly admit this. My impression is that advertising agencies ought to stick to the last in which they are expert—namely, creative advertising—and not try to give clients every other kind of service they can think of. However, the trend—a salutary one—to appoint a PR director to represent the agency itself—will increase.

Q. Have you noticed any tendency for public relations departments to disappear from corporate organization because of all this?

A. Quite the contrary. There have been some mortalities, yes, but in the main, public relations departments of corporations are more prevalent and larger than ever.

Licensing of Public Relations Practitioners

Q. Denny, how do you feel about public relations licensing? Is it coming? If it is coming, do you think it is desirable?

A. I don't see any need for licensing or competitive examinations. Those who are strongly in favor of the idea seem to be influenced by the few abuses that have come to light. They are embarrassed about the ethics of some of their colleagues and so am I. But, I don't think that licensing will eliminate these abuses. Every field or profession should practice self-regulation. I believe the public relations field already has the proper controls. Perhaps they ought to be used more stringently, but they are there. Also, further training and enlightenment of management will improve the conduct record of public relations.

Q. You think that management sometimes makes some unethical demands?

A. Unethical and menial, too. Look, we're all grown up. We can admit that some requests, while not necessarily devious, are still not within the public relations domain. "Get me tickets to the football game." "Make my wife the best-dressed woman in town." But, as management comes to understand the mission and objectives of public relations, we will have less of this kind of problem. I don't think that licensing is the panacea. I don't think it is workable. I am content to depend on the diligence of public relations societies, on the moral training of PR teachers, and on the conscientiousness and vigilance of the individual practitioner to police the qualifications and character of their members.

The Literature of the Field

Q. Let's discuss public relations literature for a moment. What do you think about the books in the field and their quality? Are the people who should be authors writing them? Is the field well served?

A. The field isn't as well served as it should be. The problem is that many of the people who should be writing books don't have the time. And, there's too much writing for the mass markets—to make sales rather than to contribute something. Unfortunately, little sells better than muckraking. Headlines can be made by calling public relations dirty names and showing up the more specious aspects of the profession.

Q. Well, have there been any books in the last 15 years which you would classify as scholarly and first-grade? Other than your book, *Your Public*

Relations, of course.

A. Yes, a few. I won't be able to think of them all. One is John Hill's. Another is Scott Cutlip's.

Q. Any other ideas you would like to express on literature?

A. Much of the material in public relations books seems to me to be playback material. I suppose my viewpoint is a little warped because practically everything written in public relations crosses my desk. But, I pray every day for something really new, excitingly new. Perhaps it would be a good idea to develop more books by having APRA make grants to authors.

Q. That leads us to the subject of research. Do you think enough research is being done?

A. I am sure that not enough is being done. There are many organizations engaged in public relations research, but too many times they are like the king's men riding off in 40 different directions. I think we need a harnessing of our research efforts. Perhaps PR research ought to be placed on an association rather than on so many individual and independent levels.

Merger of Public Relations Associations?

Q. Speaking of the PR associations, I believe you have long been an exponent of merger. Do you think it is coming closer?

A. I am told that it is.

Q. And, I imagine, this is pleasing to you?

A. I think it is better for the field. Both APRA and PRSA are fine organizations, but they would make a stronger impact if they were bonded together. The field is really too small for two national groups. As far as I can see, the objectives of APRA and PRSA are the same and, together, they can achieve these objectives faster. I know that it is part of the APRA philosophy that anybody who has an interest in public relations ought to be entitled to be served by the association. But, I think this can be continued as a functionalized part of one overall group.

Q. What about the specialized associations like FPRA and the American College Public Relations Association? Do you think they should be merged, too?

A. Some day soon I would like to see an umbrella organization like the AFA in advertising—a horizontal group with vertical ones which serve the needs of specific sections of public relations practice. I think this might have been effected easier some years ago than now, but I am still for it. ●

Race Relations and Public Relations

by JEROME WILSON

NEGRO students in some forty cities and at least seven Southern states have been protesting against segregated eating facilities in national chain variety stores as this is written. Their method of protest is eminently simple—sitting where they know they won't be served because of their race.

There are really two protagonists in this modern racial drama: 1) the Negro students who sit, and 2) the variety chain stores who as of this date have also been sitting—with the segregated policies of the Southern status quo. The backdrop for the action, of course, is the "peculiar" racial customs of the South, dating back to that region's reluctance to abolish the "peculiar institution" of Negro slavery.

But even taking into account the South's old traditions, the climactic interest of the "sit-ins," as they are called in the newspapers, is that race and business have in this instance met head on. Business considerations and racial considerations appear to be diametrically opposed.

A Woolworth (one of the chains involved) executive summed up what he considered the business point of view. "We try to be good citizens and good neighbors wherever we operate by conforming to 'local customs'," he said. "We realize that there are times when this steps on some people's toes, but that is not our responsibility. We will not be involved in anyone's crusade, and we think it unfair to expect us to move from our neutral position."

And the racial point of view. "The Negro is at war with the status quo," says Joseph Baker, head of a public relations firm which counsels business in its approach to Negroes. Lester B. Granger, professional in charge of the National Urban League, which works to expand opportuni-

ties for Negroes, agrees. Asked what his organization is trying to do, he replies, "Change America," change it by putting into far better practice the self-evident truths on which the Nation was founded.

To determine which of these points of view will win, is not the purpose of this article. But, as a help to speculators, it is suggested that the wide theater in which all of these events take place be examined—the domestic and international policies of the United States today. Furthermore, it should be remembered that change and receptiveness to change have been very much a part of our Nation's history. And finally, on the international scene changes more revolutionary than any in our own history are taking place in the nations of Africa and Asia. The people of these nations comprise, of course, the bulk of the two-thirds of the world's population which is colored.

But back home the question remains. Will America "change" in its attitudes toward the 18 million Negroes who are one-tenth of our Nation's total population? Probably. Probably, also, dynamic American business will have a great deal to do with changing them. For there are two factors about Negroes in America which are economically irrefutable: 1) the growth in their purchasing power as a group, and 2) their developing skills as a resource for manpower.

The Negro As a Buyer

"There has never been any trouble integrating a Negro's money in the cash register," asserts Julius A. Thomas, a long-time race-relations-in-industry specialist. With well over $19 billion of Negroes' money going into the Nation's cash registers each year, undoubtedly this will continue to be the case. How integrated, how racially un-fixed, the buying situation is made for Negroes before their money reaches the cash register is the question—a question incidentally very much in the forefront of the Negro's consciousness. Certainly, as his vast buying comes to be fully recognized, American industry will see to it that *how* the Negro buys is made more and more attractive.

The past indicates to what extent the purchasing power of Negroes can be expected to increase. Between 1940 and 1950 there was a 237 per cent advance in their dollar income. In the last ten years there has been a further 58 per cent increase in personal income among Negroes. True, the average Negro wage is still but roughly half of that of the average white. But considering the record of growth since 1940, this gap should be but welcome evidence of the ready sales potential of the group.

Sociologists today affirm that although there are great differences between the relative capacities, earning and otherwise, between individuals, there is little evidence of capacity differences group against group. The obvious method, then, of unlocking completely this potential to buy is to widen the opportunities for Negroes, not only removing the restrictions as to the types of jobs they can hold, but also giving them an equal chance to a good education, a stable family life, and good health.

This is long-range and very necessary. However, in examining the immediate about reaching the Negro consumer, what should be taken into account? One thing, certainly—the single most important fact of Negro life in America over the last half century—the trek from farm to city. In the first decade of the twentieth century, American Negroes in the vast majority lived in one region and under one condition—on marginal income farms in the South. One third of the Nation's Negroes still live in these places—their family incomes a depressive $700 a year. But the other two-thirds? They have joined the Nation's urbanites. Some have moved to Southern cities where they now make three times as much money as their rural racial counterparts. Others—over seven million persons—now live in the Northern and Western cities where their incomes are five times that of the rural Southern Negro.

Negroes As Buyers in Cities

Negro buyers have more, spend more, in the urban areas of the North and West. This should remain the case for some time to come, although there will undoubtedly be an increase in the number of Negroes moving to suburbia in keeping with the customs and aspirations of urban white Americans. Furthermore, Negro economic strength will continue to be found, as it is today, in the central portions of these cities, where the lower rents of older neighborhoods and city housing projects serve as necessary stepping stones into the mainstream of American life in the sixties.

The effect on business of these Negro neighborhoods clustered about the central portion of Northern and Western cities is obviously most pronounced in downtown retail stores. Put yourself in the shoes of a downtown merchant planning a sales campaign in:

Detroit—Negro population 500,000 out of 2,000,000;
St. Louis—Negro population 250,000 out of 900,000;
Chicago—Negro population 650,000 out of 3,000,000;
Los Angeles—Negro population 250,000 out of 2,200,000;
Philadelphia—Negro population 500,000 out of 2,200,000;
Washington, D. C.—Negro population 400,000 out of 850,000.

And most of these people live in neighborhoods if not actually surrounding your store, very close to it. Recognizing the obvious link between merchandising and the population composition in the immediate market area, a number of large retail stores such as Macy's in New York (the outstanding example), Hudson's in Detroit, and Filene's in Boston have employed Negro salespeople for a number of years.

As for those retail outlets actually located within Negro neighborhoods their employment composition has altered from exclusively white two decades ago to practically exclusively Negro today. Woolworth's can point to 100 per cent Negro employment—with one exception, the manager—in its 125th Street (Harlem) store. In the company's 116th Street (also Harlem) store all employees are Negroes.

Business Sales Appeals to Negroes

To help sell brand name products to Negro buyers business has used Negro models in advertisements in Negro publications and on poster boards in Negro neighborhoods. Integration of white and Negro models in these advertisements, incidentally, is hardly more common than racially representative models in national publications.

Without question one of the favorite media that business uses to reach Negro readers is *Ebony*. Started in 1945 this phenomena on the American publishing scene, has a circulation today of 650,000. A sister publication, *Jet,* begun six years later has a circulation of 500,000. The editorial approach of these publications is significant. They are slick with an obvious though not exclusive emphasis on the concerns of the urban Negro. Feature stories in *Ebony* play up the middle class virtues of material success, conservative tastes, and harmonious social relationships. The outlook of the magazines is decidedly "positive" in the Norman Vincent Peale meaning of the word. *Ebony's* national advertisers are impressive. I. W. Harper, American Tobacco, Remington Rand, Bristol Myers, RCA Victor, Sealtest, Chevrolet, among more than 30 other major American manufacturers, carry full-page advertisements in the current March issue.

Businesses also use the cumulatively more imposing Negro weekly newspapers—about one million circulation among 60 newspapers—for their advertising messages. The Negro press of the nation, which has a proud 133-year history, reflects increasingly the middle class ethic of the urban Negro it serves. A few daily metropolitan newspapers have stepped up their coverage of Negro activities, mindful no doubt of the healthy affect this can have on city circulation. Although this may in time edge

into their circulation, the Negro weeklies coupled with the two Negro dailies, remain the most potent avenue of mass communication to this special public.

There are also well over 500 radio stations beamed especially to the Negro listener that can carry an advertiser's message in a direct and personal fashion.

What Does Negro Buyer Want?

One final consideration is necessary in any discussion of the Negro as a buyer. That is, in habit, outlook and aspiration he is a simple, ordinary, human American. Although a Johnson Publishing market study notes that Negroes outdo the average (at a given earning level) in the purchases of household furnishings and equipment, these are in a sense compensatory purchases. For the housing market is not open to individual Negroes and to make up for the home that is denied him, he fills up the one he has with the American attainable.

The general prospect, however, is continued American habit patterns by Negroes and a lessening of those group distinctions remaining. The gaps in education between the Negro and the national average are closing—the literacy gap is almost shut tight except in the rural South and among some of the old. 200,000 non-whites are presently enrolled in colleges and universities. Negroes, like their fellow Americans, are striving for a better life with material goods to show for it; and although understandingly sensitive to equal treatment as customers, their buying response is Main Street, U.S.A.

The Negro As An Employee

Although there have admittedly been many changes in the employment pattern of Negroes, they have not on the face been as dramatic as those of the Negro as a buyer. At the time of the last census (1950) three-fourths of the Negro males in the North and West and four-fifths of the Negro males in the urban South were employed in manual or unskilled job categories.

These ratios, as against the two-fifths of the white males employed in lower rung positions, are disturbing both from a human and a national point of view. Contrary to the popular legend of Horatio Alger, lower class backgrounds depress initiative and accomplishment—retarding individuals psychologically and physically as well.

Causes of the off-balance of the Negro employment ratio are pri-

marily: 1) an unwillingness to hire and promote Negroes to skilled jobs; that is, out-and-out employment discrimination, and, 2) the inadequacy of job preparation of many Negroes due to the "squirrel cage" in which their lives tend to revolve—weaker family life, poorer educational facilities, more limited employment opportunities, and a resulting lack of on-the-job training.

The unwillingness to hire skilled Negroes is fortunately an element that is fading in the Northern and Western employment picture. J. J. Morrow, vice president of Pitney Bowes, can truthfully point to the fact that, "it is now 'open season' on jobs for trained Negroes in the scientific and technical fields." It has also become easier for Negroes to find suitable employment as clerical and office workers. In fact, the Negro female secretary has become a more and more frequent sight on the commercial office scene.

Progress at the Executive Level

Progress has been the slowest on the management level, as can be expected. Here, industry is partially a victim of the past. For management jobs require some "working-up-to," and only since World War II, has the Negro for the most part had the luxury of working-up. Even today, with the notable exception of firms such as Campbell's Soup and General Foods, only a limited number of corporations employ *any* young Negro college graduates as executive trainees as they do whites. Yet, one can expect some of the Negroes in technical jobs in industry to move over to managerial positions as white technicians have done before them. Also heartening is the fact that firms such as General Electric, Boeing Aircraft, Western Electric, Westinghouse, Radio Corporation of America, and some twenty other multi-plant corporations have put Howard University, a predominantly Negro college in Washington, D. C., on their round-the-campuses recruitment tours in the spring. The Urban League can be credited with initiating this project.

But also confronting industry is the very real problem of inadequacy of job preparation and experience of a large number of Negroes. "If industry has openings for technically trained people without regard for skin color, why don't Negroes get collectively busy and fill them?" it might be asked. The obvious answer is that these opportunities simply have not been open long enough.

Let the Young Dream

To become an engineer, we are told, begins with a boy's dream; and

few Negro youths in their right minds would have dreamed of becoming one fifteen or twenty years ago. Now they can. In fact, they are encouraged to do so by the Urban League's youth incentive program fittingly entitled "Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians" (TST). Granting that the opportunities stay open, as they should in a prospering economy, enough trained Negroes will in good time meet them.

In the South technical and clerical opportunities for Negroes have been restricted to exceptions to a general rule of exclusion. The exceptions include: federal government offices, particularly on military installations; a few branch plants of Northern-headquartered industry, such as International Harvester and Western Electric; Negro owned businesses; and all-Negro plants. Some of the cigarette companies in North Carolina employ the all-Negro plant method. Two buildings, housing complete cigarette making facilities, will be situated side by side. The finished product from one is made entirely by Negroes, from the other by whites.

Such peculiar arrangements have meant that graduates of Southern Negro colleges, as well as receiving more limited educational opportunities than whites, have been thwarted in finding employment commensurate with their education. These factors are no doubt far greater cause of their dissatisfaction with the whole of Southern segregation than mere racial separatism at lunch counters.

The trained Negroes of the South must by and large trek northward or westward for opportunity. With one-fourth of her manpower Negro, the South must consider how long she can afford to lose these people who could skillfully contribute to her aspirations of industrial expansion.

As more and more Negroes are integrated into the skilled and eventually the management levels of American industry, the question of acceptance on the part of whites will undoubtedly decrease from its early-stage importance. However, many offices have yet to confront the integration experience—although some of the younger men in them may have been part of an integrated U.S. Armed Forces. Suffice to say that a firm, top-level management policy is the best assurance of orderly change from a racially restricted hiring policy to one which is non-discriminatory and democratic.

New Frontiers of Promise

The South would, of course, be the widest area of new opportunities for Negroes, if prevailing white attitudes permitted. Presently, they do not. Changing the Southern situation, therefore, may be up to the example

of fair hiring practices on Federal installations coupled with greater Federal insistance on compliance to non-discriminatory hiring provisions of Government contracts. Northern industry newly moving southward can also play a part, particularly if they make known to industry-hungry Southern communities their stipulations in site selections. Non-discriminatory, and thereby efficient use of manpower in the immediate area of the new site would be a worthy item to insist upon. Industry on the move might also make it known that good business policy hardly dictates the erection of new plants in areas threatening to step into the riot zone or where the closing of public schools is contemplated by segregationist legislatures in an effort to avoid decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Other new frontiers in the economic development of Negroes might be termed categorical. Some segments of industry simply have not opened up as readily to Negroes as others. Banking generally—The Bowery Savings Bank and Chase Manhattan Bank excepted—has been slow to hire Negro tellers and accountants. Hotel management and administration remains restricted to whites, except for hotels in all-Negro neighborhoods. As for the railroads one Urban League specialist contends there isn't a Negro selling a railroad ticket in the entire United States—and there are few working in similar job categories for airline and bus companies.

Great fundamental changes, nonetheless, have taken place in racial relationships over the last two decades in our democracy. In American industry, as a direct outgrowth of the expanding economy's need for manpower and consumers, Negroes have won striking advances in employment and buying opportunities. On the American political scene, attributable in part to the increase in the number of Negroes voting, there has been increased Government concern with protecting the individual and civil rights of Negro citizens.

Thus, the Negro in today's America is a much strengthened element of our population. The colored portion, too, of the world's population has found new power. Suddenly, public relations for American industry and government must work in a new dimension, one as various as the groups that make up mankind—race relations. The fields of public relations and race relations must meet, and merge. •

scanning

THE PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

Each quarter Dr. Donald W. Krimel selects items from the various professional journals in the social sciences which have implications for the public relations field.—Ed.

SPECIALIZED MEDIA PAY OFF

"What Farmers Think About Advertising," by C. H. Sandage, University of Illinois, in *Journalism Quarterly,* Vol. 36, No. 4.

Dr. Sandage worked with a large panel of farmers to get results that may have broad applications for public relations people. Mainly he wanted to compare the relative effectiveness of advertising, aimed at farmers, when it was in general newspapers and when it was in journals edited specifically for the farmer.

The findings indicate that some people (Illinois farmers, at least) get more information from advertisements placed in journals aimed especially at them than they do from ads placed in general publications. They put more *reliance* in the specialized media ads, too.

Sandage concludes, on the basis of analysis of his results, that "where media (print and electronic) assemble an audience that is homogeneous in respect to occupation, profession or specialized interest" the communicator will be well advised to put himself to the cost and trouble to create message forms "keyed to the idiom of that audience."

He finds unwise the common practice of merely filling specialized journals with ads originally designed for general publications. The principle applies, of course, to many a public relations activity.

WILL DECISION-MAKING POWER MAKE "THEM" HAPPY?

"Some Personality Determinants of the Effects of Participation," by Victor H. Vroom, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. 59, No. 3.

In terms of the morale and the efficiency of this organization's members, is it a good idea to make every effort to bring each member into the decision-making process relative to our policies and our actions? Will everyone feel better if we de-

centralize authority as far as policy is concerned? Is it a natural human tendency to want to determine one's own fate, as far as possible? Some would say "yes." The Vroom study indicates that the answer is "yes" regarding some individuals, and "no" regarding others.

Working with the employees of a large company, Vroom first classified them on the basis of their being either "equalitarians and individuals with strong independence needs," or "authoritarians and persons with weaker independence needs." The ensuing research indicated that equalitarians and those who have strong independence needs develop more positive attitudes toward their jobs and greater motivation for effective performance through participation in the decision-making of the organization. On the other hand, their opposites are apparently *unaffected* by the opportunity to participate in making decisions.

On balance, then, affording such opportunity is a good thing, as far as employee morale and efficiency are concerned. The intelligent way to afford it, however, is on a selective basis.

This study has interesting implications in terms of selecting employees to move upward into posts that involve much decision-making. The authoritarian individual, who accepts the boss's authority absolutely and with no tendency to question, is likely to look like a pretty good fellow to the boss, and material for promotion.

The opposite personality type spells friction. Yet this study strongly indicates that the employees who most benefit by being giving decision-making powers, whose efficiency is most increased by those powers, and who will approach those powers with confidence and interest, are the non-authoritarian, independent types.

TREND TO MANAGERIAL PERSUASION

"The Three Eras of Management Communication," by C. J. Dover, consultant in communication and group relations for the General Electric Company, in *The Journal of Communication*, Vol. IX, No. 4.

An historical study of management-to-employee communication materials has led Dover to the conclusion that, as far as content is concerned, such communication has had three fairly distinct phases:

1. The Era of Entertainment (Pre-World War II)
2. The Era of Information (The 1940's)
3. The Era of Interpretation and Persuasion (The 1950's)

The lines between the periods are not absolute, of course, but Dover's observations indicate that they are substantial. The change has been gradual, and some men close to the field may hardly have noticed it, but it is there. From fillers and features and gossip, the pattern changes to relatively unbiased presentation of data about the institution, and then to persuasion, often "hard-sell."

Dover's examples, indicating what he means by persuasive materials, concern union-management relations (from Ford *News*), wages (from Thompson Products' *Friendly Forum*), and a potential strike (from the Louisville General Electric *News*). The tone of the material puts one in mind of the new trend to opinionated entry into "public affairs" by some management people. It seems part of a current wave. Dover says it was the wave of the 1950's in the material he studied, and he sees it as the wave of the future. ●

A Community Relations Program for Public Relations

by LESTER H. AHLSWEDE

CLOSET any three public relations men in a room and sooner or later one will remark that public relations needs public relations. Then, typically, there is a silence. The Georges, the cat bellers, the balls of fire are always in some other room.

Well, not always. The Washington Chapter of the American Public Relations Association has developed a public service program through which there can be genuine and realistic service to worthy human needs.

The program simply is one in which members of the chapter volunteer their services to public welfare and social service agencies that cannot afford public relations counsel or help.

The program originated with Mel White, former president of the Washington Chapter of APRA and Chief of Information Services for the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, and John P. McGill, a member of the Board of Governors of the Washington Chapter of APRA and Projects Promotion Manager of the American Trucking Associations, Inc. Jack McGill served as chairman of the chapter's Public Service Committee for two years, and I was chairman of this committee in 1958-59. Philip P. Friedlander, Jr., Director of Public Relations, National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, is the current chairman.

As of the time of writing, the Washington Chapter was providing volunteer public relations assistance to more than 25 health and welfare agencies in the city, and a program was underway to expand this number. More than 25 members of the chapter are serving as volunteers.

A set of criteria has been developed by the Public Service Committee to evaluate applications. These criteria are:

1. Public relations counseling service will be rendered only to such agencies as, by decision of the Committee, cannot afford public relations counsel.

2. Requests for counseling service from the Health and Welfare Council agencies will be screened by the Health and Welfare Council; and those from non-HWC agencies will be screened by a Subcommittee on Eligibility.

3. All recommendations will be referred to the Public Service Committee for determination as to whether services shall be rendered.

4. Only requests for long-range service of a counseling nature will be honored. HWC or the Subcommittee on Eligibility will advise requesting agencies of the limitations of such service.

The role of the volunteer providing the public relations counseling is a relatively simple one, and does not require a great amount of time. He or she consults with the staff of the agency from time to time, sits in on appropriate committee meetings and board meetings and advises on public relations actions.

For more detailed legwork, student help is available from three universities in the Washington area. The Public Service Committee has a working arrangement with the public relations schools of the University of Maryland, George Washington University and American University to provide students seeking actual experience on public relations assignments.

To date, the Washington Chapter has not sought a great deal of public recognition or attention for its service. What has come along has been largely based on the interest of the media of the community. After further development of the program, efforts will be made to broaden this recognition, with the philosophy that the public service program is a light which should not remain buried under a bushel basket.

Already, however, benefits to the public relations field, to the APRA chapter and to the individuals have accrued. The public service program is an expression of concern for the human needs of the community. Public relations people in Washington are credited with having an interest in others besides themselves and the organizations they are paid to serve. They are earning respect as full human beings, who express an appreciation for the importance of other human beings. ●

BOOK REVIEWS

RADICALISM, ANYONE?

THE FUTURE AS HISTORY
By ROBERT L. HEILBRONER
Harper & Bros., New York, 1960, 209 pp. $4.00

THE SHAPE OF NATIONAL POLITICS TO COME
By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
A memorandum circulated privately.

Politics, it has been said variously, is the art of the possible, makes strange bedfellows, is the art of human happiness and is simply apple sauce. What Mr. Dooley saw at the turn of the Century as "th' same ol' spoort iv highway robb'ry," Sidney Hillman modernized as "the science of how who gets what, when and why." And while politics today may appear too often as a remarkably exact reflection of the Dooley-Hillman view, public relations and its clients are finding that politics does not, as Henry Adams claimed, consist in ignoring facts. It is more likely, as John Halper pointed out in THE QUARTERLY REVIEW recently* the business of understanding and effecting the formation and resolution of public issues.

This holds true for the Mattress Walkers Association, the Chamber of Commerce and all the Generals from Acceptance to Transistor, for increasingly the business environment is a political environment. National tax policy, credit policy, monetary policy, labor legislation, highway construction—all these and a hundred other economic issues are politically determined. At state and local levels, changes in unemployment insurance rates and coverage may very easily be traded off for a vote on off-track betting. This is politics; and unfortunately it affects business. But the question that public relations must face for its clients sooner than later is whether politics will retain its present complexion or undergo upsetting changes in the coming decade—especially in the solution of a number of pressing national problems such as education, urban renewal, transportation and inflation. A partial answer has been supplied by historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in a memorandum that originally was circulated privately about six months ago. The memo has leaked as far as London into an article by political scientist Denis Brogan. In this country the Schlesinger thesis has been embraced by Presidential Candidate Jack Kennedy, by

* John B. Halper, *Public Affairs—Management's Fastest Growing Relation,* The Quarterly Review of Public Relations, January 1960.

James MacGregor Burns, Henry Steel Commager and Chester Bowles. And it has also been criticized vehemently in more conservative circles. Either way, it can not be ignored.

Schlesinger is intrigued by the appearances of historical automatism as were Hegel, Spengler, Sirokin and Toynbee before him. And he sees in American history a continual, periodic swing from conservatism to liberalism and back again. Today the nation is about tó take another leap into liberalism. Schlesinger reaches that conclusion in about five big leaps of his own.

First, after twenty demanding years of depression, social ferment and war, the nation was ready for quiesence and mild government. Eisenhower fitted those qualifications, for what in fact America wanted in 1952 was normalcy and normalcy is what it got. So too in the Twenties—and this is Schlesinger's second main point—after twenty years of change and war the country also entered a period of passivity in which excitement was generated not by ideas and political stimulation but by the "normalcy" that Harding promised and delivered.

Thirdly, Schlesinger suggests that this pattern of what are essentially parallel national experiences is not accidental but is instead symptomatic of a cyclical trend in political life. Its high probability is confirmed, he believes, by the appearance of similar cycles in our earlier history, which were originally calculated by his father. They were:

Liberal	*Conservative*
1765-1787	1787-1801
1801-1816	1816-1829
1829-1841	1841-1861
1861-1869	1869-1901
1901-1919	1919-1931
1931-1947	

Fourthly, while the Twenties were brought to a close by depression, they also boiled over into a period of intellectual turbulence and intolerance of normalcy. The Fifties came to a similar close as indicated, for example, by the widespread popularity of such unconventional books as *The Affluent Society, The Lonely Crowd* and *The Organization Man.* And the Democratic landslide in the 1958 elections is for Schlesinger the political reflection of a current search for new ideas. Hence, we are about to enter a new period—a liberal period—in which the public interest will predominate over the private interest.

For the intellectually lost-at-sea, there must be a great deal of comfort in this egg-headed version of "red sky at night, sailor's delight, red sky in the morning, sailors take warning." But is Schlesinger one of the day people or the night people?

To be sure, history rarely comes packaged in crush-proof, flip-top boxes. It does nevertheless present reasonable beginnings and endings. And they rarely seemed so definitive as when on an October day in 1952, a self-assured genial candidate Eisenhower stood by our side, promised he would go to Korea, and interred what Auden had called the Age of Anxiety. Five years later on another October day, Sputnik should have made geniality obsolete and self-assurance suspect. Emerging from the long tunnel between Octobers into the critical light of the Space Age we should have seen suddenly that the nation had been making love to unreality.

But if Sputnik, in a familiar cliche, awakened the nation, we were not long in dozing off again. We allowed very few suspicions of disorder to intrude upon our well kept lives. A survey in 1959 of *Saturday Review* readers—allegedly intellectuals—revealed "fear of war was less than fear of higher taxes." The thinking man has a hobby to wile away his filtered hours. We are stockpiling roads and subsidizing railroads for want of an idea. We still confuse training with education. Our great debates are not spending vs. saving or even what we should buy, but more spending vs. less spending.

Surely, Schlesinger has the facts and the mood on his side. What is doubtful indeed is whether or not the mood and the facts guarantee a change from conservatism to liberalism, especially when Schlesinger's usage of "liberalism" seems to coincide with a popular practice that is living off old glories and has failed to produce anything more in the last 15 years than a diluted version of the New Deal. But the mood and the facts are not enough in Robert Heilbroner's view. For *The Future as History* is an unorthodox, pessimistic preview of dominant, historical world forces that are barely susceptible to an American pattern of cyclical change. We cannot expect to change these forces, Heilbroner says, but we can accommodate our thinking to:

> . . . a changed weapons technology that has eliminated the chance of a military solution to the problem of communism and made politics, economics and productive technology the arbiter of the future;
>
> . . . a drive among the awakening peoples of the world for rapid economic development that has put a premium on collectivism; and as American growth rates proceed upward, the gap widens and we are

likely to become the focus of frustration;

. . . a tendency throughout the West toward planning of some kind, and certainly a drift away from traditional forms of capitalism;

. . . increasing socialization of American life due primarily to the rise of the welfare state and the growth of a military bureaucracy, both of which are abetted by present forms of technology;

. . . a tendency for abundance to weaken market forces.

Heilbroner is not at all confident that we can accommodate ourselves to these forces, for we are caught up in the overly optimistic belief that technological and economic improvement leads automatically to progress when in fact we may have gained only another plateau of problems. "We must," he writes, "put away our ideas of progress over the foreseeable vista of the historic future . . . the west will have need to two qualities: fortitude and understanding."

The Future as History is unorthodox, courageous, instructive. It is nevertheless an oversimplification just as Schlesinger's thesis is an oversimplification: both suffer from a fixity of outlook; Heilbroner toward the world view, Schlesinger toward the national scene. Yet, anyone who pretends an interest in the likely political complexion of the Sixties—and public relations had better do more than pretend—can not afford to ignore these points of view. One has already received wide notice, the other is likely to have the same kind of cumulative effect as Walter Lippman's stand on the private interest and the public interest is already having in shaping political pronouncements.

In short, where the lines on both the Heilbroner and Schlesinger blueprints begin to fade is in their failure to allow room for intellectual and organizational innovation and the men who will encourage its birth. Schlesinger asserts that we need a "qualitative liberalism" to guide us into the Sixties. I don't think we do. We need innovators, not caretakers, for innovators alone will be able to find solutions for the major problems facing the country today.

—DON COLEN

PRESS INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORY

Press Intelligence, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1960, 179 pp., $25.00

This is a revision of the *Press Intelligence Directory,* first issued in 1957. Like its predecessor it is concerned with the successful placement of news stories.

The point of view of the authors is that news is a commodity. While press relations people will know the time and the way for the placement of their stories, they need to know more about "the right place." Toward

that end, the *Directory* provides a simple and logical guide.

First, there is the identification of the customers (in this case, 712 major dailies and their Sunday counterparts).

Second, there is the arrangement of these papers by Congressional districts.

Next, there is a listing of local writers who are interested in specific subjects such as Business, Education, Fashion, Pets, Travel—37 categories in all. In each case the name of the writer, rather than an editorial title, is given.

Finally, the all-important syndicate writers (500 of them) are listed, with specific mention of the names of the papers which carry them.

The *Directory* was compiled by the direct inspection of each newspaper listed, for at least seven days. In all, 100,000 pages of newsprint were analyzed in order to provide this working tool for press relations.

The inspiration for the *Directory* came from the day to day experiences of the authors in operating their clipping and press analysis service.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

A HANDBOOK OF CHURCH PUBLIC RELATIONS
By Ralph Stoody, Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1959, 255 pp., $4.00

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS MADE EASY
By John Donald Peel, Chilton Company, Philadelphia, 1959, 318 pp., $5.00

EVALUATING PUBLIC RELATIONS RESULTS
Report of Second Annual Midwest Public Relations Conference, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, 1959, 58 pp., $1.00

TESTED METHODS OF RAISING MONEY FOR CHURCHES, COLLEGES, AND HEALTH AND WELFARE AGENCIES
By Margaret M. Fellows and Stella A. Koenig, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959, 463 pp., $6.95

A HANDBOOK OF THE FOREIGN PRESS
By John C. Merrill, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1959, 394 pp., $5.00

PICTURES TELL YOUR STORY
By Daniel J. Ransohoff, National Publicity Council, New York, 1959, 48 pp., $1.75

IT'S GOOD PUBLIC RELATIONS
By Edmund D. Boles, Edmund D. Boles Associates, Fresno, Calif., 1959, 36 pp., $1.00

COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
National Recreation Association, New York, 1959, 25 pp., $2.00

1959 SILVER ANVIL AWARDS COMPETITION
REPORT OF CHAIRMAN, JUDGES AND AWARDS COMMITTEE

April 1960

To The Men and Women of APRA:

The men and women of the American Public Relations Association should take a deep sense of pride in the manner in which they are discharging their obligation to the public relations profession through their trusteeship of the Silver Anvil Awards Competition. Custom would dictate that this message be directed to a discussion of the competition, the quality of the entries and the accomplishment of the winners, but I propose to disregard custom.

The highest tribute that can be paid the winners is the simple statement of fact that they have won a Silver Anvil Award. It is to the why of the force of this simple statement of fact that I urge your consideration.

The distinction of the Silver Anvil Award is in its reflection of the integrity and dedication of the men and women of APRA. The Competition was begun by visionaries with ideals. These visionaires, as in all beginnings, set standards and objectives consistent with the highest standards of professional accomplishment and ethics. But words are mere words without implementations, and the ideals of visionaries can be compromised to meet changing situations or the expediency of the moment.

The firm resolve of the men and women of APRA to hold uncompromisingly to the ideals and objectives envisioned by the creators of the Silver Anvil Awards Competition is in my opinion the vital ingredient in the success of the Awards Competition. It is to you, therefore, that we pay tribute with these words.

HAYES DEVER, Chairman
1959 APRA Silver Anvil
Awards Competition

16th Annual
APRA
Silver Anvil Awards Competition—1959

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Agriculture	Colorado Wheat Administrative Committee and Public Relations Incorporated
Banking, Finance & Insurance	Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, Agricultural Program
Chambers of Commerce	None
Civic Enterprises	Triangle Station WFBG-TV
Communications	None
Community Relations	Aetna Life Affiliated Companies
Distribution and Marketing	Ford Motor Company—Ford Division
Educational Institutions and Organizations	The Cooper Union For The Advancement Of Science and Art
Entertainment and Recreation	None
Government	Office of the American National Exhibition in Moscow
Hospitals	Baylor University Medical Center
International Relations Originating In The United States	Whirlpool Corporation

Category	SILVER ANVIL WINNERS
International Relations. . . . . Originating Outside The United States—Associations	None
International Relations. . . . . Originating Outside The United States—Commercial	Industrias Kaiser Argentina S. A.
International Relations. . . . . Originating Outside The United States—Military	Headquarters 3974th Combat Support Group, U. S. Air Force—Zaragoza Air Base, Spain
Labor Unions.	None
Manufacturing.	Flick-Reedy Corporation
Military.	U. S. Navy Task Force 47
Philanthropic Organizations. . .	Victor Weingarten Public Relations and Louise Wise Services
Professional Organizations. . . .	New York State Bar Association and Doug Johnson Associates, Inc.
Retailing.	The Fisher Bros. Company
Trade Associations.	The Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc. and Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.
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Utilities.	The Ohio Bell Telephone Company

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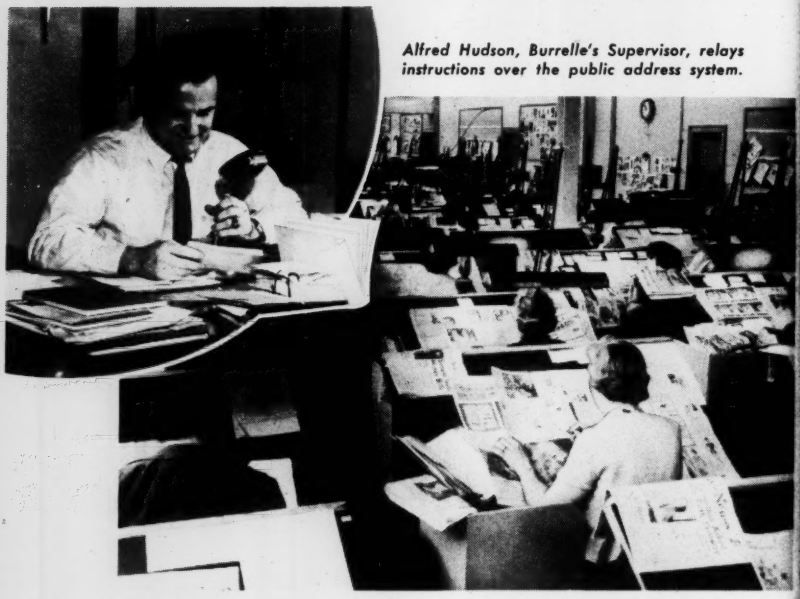

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